756 to him for generations, but this is done before the "case" be-
757 comes serious and requires the attention of an umufumu. These remedies are in a class by themselves (p. 140), and at this point we are only discussing sorcery, magic remedies and their application.

Regardless of the kind of remedy which is to be applied,
755 the Murundi first tests its effectiveness by external application. Even those remedies which can only be of help if taken internally are first strapped or spread on the ailing part of the body since they are expected to have a magical power similar to an amulet. Even European medicines meant to be taken internally, such as pills, powders, or tablets, are first wrapped in a leaf by the Murundi and tied to the sick organ. Only if he does not feel any improvement after that, will he finally make up his mind to swallow or drink them.

There are countless numbers of true amulets (iviheko)
751 which are made of various substances and in various shapes.
789 They are always worn suspended on the body in a small compact form (Plate 55). We have already listed quite a number of these above (p. 130). Usually they are suspended from the neck on strings, but frequently they are also tied to the head, to the belly, or to the genitalia, etc. At times each one hangs on a separate piece of string, at other times dozens of different kinds are strung up on a single piece of string, similar to a necklace. The material used for making the amulet is not as important as the sorcery through which the umufumu imparts supernatural powers to the object, but in most cases the amulet consists of a piece of wood three to six centimeters long, if for no other reason than that it is easiest to produce and to carry. One may also see claws or hooves of leopards, cats, goats, and sheep, the bones of birds, pieces of snake skin or the fur of wild animals, dried fruit, mussels, pebbles with unusual shapes, but, most frequently, powder from various types of soil, ashes of burnt bones or of the horns of animals, and flour made of various kinds of grain (No. 19, p. 29). Usually these powdery charms are poured into a small cattle, goat, or antelope horn whose opening is then closed with wax. Hollowed out fruit

[140] Chapter 10

Medicine, Chronometry, Arithmetic, Language

1. Medicine

753 We have already discussed above (p. 132) the basic re-
755 ligious elements in the concepts of the Barundi about all kinds
757 of sickness and their remedies. To the Barundi, all illnesses are the result of sorcery by a demon, and they can be cured or alleviated only by counter-magic. This counter-magic may be performed by the sorcerer or medicine man (umufumu) by means of the magic powers vested in him. He may seek to affect the demon of sickness either by certain manipulations or incantations or by means of talismans and amulets which he has endowed with his powers, or he may choose with prudent circumspection and mature experience certain natural substances which have specific inherent magical powers, herbs, juices, types of earth, or the body parts of animals, and use them as specific remedies for each particular case.

757 I should like to describe this last type of application as being essentially medical treatment of the patient, for the decisive element is, after all, that these remedies have not been vested with their magic power and effectiveness by the umufumu, but rather they had these qualities originally. Without a thorough investigation, we are unable to answer the question whether we should say that the natives regard these properties as the expression of a soul inherent in the object or as the characteristic emanations of the object itself (in the sense of "emanism" as defined by Karutz, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie [Ethnological Journal], 1913, p. 545 ff.). For our present purposes this question is only of secondary importance. Such remedies, endowed with healing power a priori, can be effectively applied not only by the sorcerer but by any other intelligent man or woman familiar with their specific magical properties and able to select them properly. In addition to these remedies which are applied internally and externally,

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
[755] in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

791 In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed
[683] by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and bewitchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

754 11. In order to wreak vengeance on an unfaithful wife who
684 has left the conjugal home, the husband fetches a plant known by the
837 name of ururuburamadjo /406/ the etymological meaning of which (kubura kujya) is "to have no place to go," that is to say, to have no place to stay. This indicates the use to which the angered husband puts the plant, and the results he expects from it. He braids it into a sort of pad upon which he must place butter or pour castor oil that belonged to the unfaithful woman. The mystic pad is hidden under a rock. It must be removed a month later and placed under another rock. This method, add the credulous natives, infallibly creates difficulties between the fugitive woman and her temporary husbands. She will be dismissed as many times as her first spouse shifts the magic pad.

783 B. Purifiers or exorcisers of all sorts and exhumers or mutilators
791 of corpses. In order to ward off evil spells and the deadly consequences that might derive from certain events such as the violation of a taboo, the burning of a hut, a murder, the coming across a corpse or a killed animal, or to avert the fury of a spirit on the rampage, the king, his court, and his subjects call upon the services of people called by the name of Abashumburuzi, Abahanyi b'amachumu, Ababuzi, etc. Like their other colleagues in the occult, mysterious, and magical sciences, these practitioners enjoy official and legal recognition.

1. The Abashumburuzi, sorcerers who are resorted to by taboo violators.

Abashumburuzi is the title given by the people of the Lukiga (that is, the mountain people) to a group of purifiers whose function is often the same as that of the mugangahuzi, or "protectors against lightning," with whom they are often wrongly identified.

●755 The mushumburuzi, if one holds to the etymological meaning
783 of his trade, is believed to have the power of expelling spirits from the body of a sick person (1). To do this, /407/ he performs veritable exorcisms, makes magic passes over the body of the patient, calls the spirits by name, and begs them to let go of their victim. He holds in the hand a bunch of shrub branches endowed with magic properties and moves them over the body of the sick person.

The spirit that caused the illness takes refuge in the symbolic broom. Then all the magician has to do is to take the spirit-chasing

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads....Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

787 Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
783 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

787 There is a story of a similar prophecy for Ruasa. Formerly
173 the hill on which the mission is now located had a quite unintelligible name, busakaza itaka, allegedly, "land where earth is used to cover." About 15 years ago a man prophesied that "red men" would come and that their house would be covered with earth. When the missionaries came and covered their buildings with bricks, the words made sense, and the prophecy was fulfilled. There is a similar story about Bugoye.

787 I could not understand the Banyaruanda views about dreams.
775 What one sees in a dream is a matter pertaining to the past or the future if it is contrary to the present. If one has seen deceased persons in a dream, it is said that the spirits of the dead came visiting. Such a dream is usually followed by a sacrifice, for it is assumed that the spirits are suffering and that they appear in order to beg for help. If a person disregards this he might suffer evil consequences, for the neglected spirits would avenge themselves.

781 If a youth sees his bride in a dream, he does not marry her. The dream warns him against a marriage in which the partners would not get along.

Father F. Dufays once dreamed that one of his black friends burst because he drank too much beer. When he told this to the man in question on the next morning, [324] the man was frightened and began to cry. When he was asked the reason for his tears, he said that whatever one sees in a dream comes to pass.

755 The Practice of Medicine. A special form of medical treatment, cure through initiation into a secret society, has already been described. This is not all there is to medical practice, however, and it is not always employed. Not all sorcerers, soothsayers, and medicine men belong to the secret societies of babandwa. The act of appeasing the spirits with eleusine (buro) seems to be carried out by ordinary soothsayers (bapfumu) in order to free patients from afflictions caused by troublesome spirits.

In Kissaka where I was told a great deal about the "appeasement of spirits" with eleusine, the procedure is somewhat as follows.

The mupfumu takes a small calabash known as ntendere and fills it with eleusine. He adds nzuzi seeds, kaolin powder, and a bone from the forefoot of a cow. The soothsayer rubs the palm of

755 his hand with kaolin, places the nzuzi seeds and the bone on his hand, spits on them, and says: "ngira amagara (I am strong)." He shakes his hand and tosses the contents into a small basket, ntaro. Then he pours eleusine from the gourd into the basket. He spits on the eleusine and hands the basket to the person for whom he is performing the ceremony, who likewise spits into the basket. For the second time the mupfumu takes the bone and the nzuzi seeds out with the words, "ngira amagara." He shakes them in his hand as though mixing them. He tosses the contents of his hand into a round basket with the words, "ngira amagara," and puts the basket to one side. Then he hands the basket containing the eleusine to the man, who spits into it and says: "n'dapfa (I am dying)." Thereupon the soothsayer spits into it with the words, "ngira amagara." The tormented one says: "n'ziranyu muzimu (I am suffering at the hands of this spirit)," and gives its name. The individual spirits are named in this manner, the soothsayer and the man alternately going through the ritual of spitting. This performance is known as kushora umuzimu, "appeasing the spirits." When this is finished, the soothsayer takes the small basket that has been set aside with the cow bone, the nzuzi seeds, and a few eleusine seeds, and he hands it to the tormented one, who spits into it and says: "ngira ubuhoro (I am at peace)." The soothsayer moves the basket with the words: "agira ubuhoro (he is at peace)"; "atapfa (he will not die)"; "atafushe (he would not like to be killed)"; "azaturaho (he will remain)." After these words the sorcerer tosses everything into the calabash, and the ceremony is ended.

In payment for his services the mupfumu gets peas, sweet potatoes, etc.

755 [325] I was unable to find out anything about true medical
757 treatment and the methods of cure, since this involves a knowledge of the local flora. The natives themselves know far less about this than about the impressive ceremonies of auto-suggestive cures. I should merely like to say that the remedies are taken internally and applied externally and are also worn on the body in small horns
787 and vessels as amulets. The amulets containing medicine are tied

[Text continues on p. 264]

6: Czekanowski--263 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 170. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 6978. Length, 1.8 centimeters.

Fig. 171. Head Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10153.)

Fig. 172. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10153.)

Fig. 173. Neck Amulet from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 10147.)

755 to the afflicted parts of the body. Since the amulets are very specialized in their effects, every illness requires a different amulet, sometimes even a different medicine man. That is why one constantly sees individuals with a dozen amulets.

There are many different types of amulets. There are, first of all, small pieces of wood decorated with little glass beads. One or two of these are worn on the bast headband. Sometimes several thin wooden cylinders with glass beads are worn on a necklace. One also sees quite a number of larger pieces of wood on a necklace. Occasionally amulets have the shape of tiny clay vessels filled with long-distance medicine. Similarly shaped are
832 the little love pots (ingondo) which are [326] worn in large numbers by the women on their belts. They are said to guarantee the love of their husbands. The small gourds called bunuli serve the same purpose. Vessels of this kind are filled with the medicine known as isarazi.

752 Sometimes the sick person is branded with a hot iron. One often sees scars of burns on the forehead, which indicate headache treatments. In other cases incisions and bloodletting are performed.

Bloodletting (kurasha) is common in Ruanda medical practice. A vein in the forehead is chosen and blocked by means of pressure (bandaging the neck). The vein is then opened. This is done by placing an arrow or a knife on the vein and pushing it into the vein with the index finger.

When a sufficient amount of blood has been drawn off, the ligature is removed. The bleeding usually stops automatically. If it does not, the opening is stopped up with clay.

Cupping is also a favorite treatment. An antelope horn with a small opening at the point serves as a cupping glass. Air is sucked out through the opening, and the cup is sealed with fig leaves. The cupping horn is placed on the neck in the case of a headache. To increase its effectiveness, the skin is often lacerated with a knife. The cupping horn is kept on the spot until it falls off by itself. The cupping horns do not differ from those of the Dinka.

In fractures of arms or legs the bones are skillfully set and immobilized with splints (busenge).

[Text continues on p.266]

6: Czekanowski--265 E-5 (1907-1909)1917 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Fig. 174. Clay Containers for Amulets, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E10147.)

Fig. 175. Little Love Pots, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13087a, III E13088c, III E13086a, III E13084b.)

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Fig. 176. Love Gourd from Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E13119. 12 centimeters high.)

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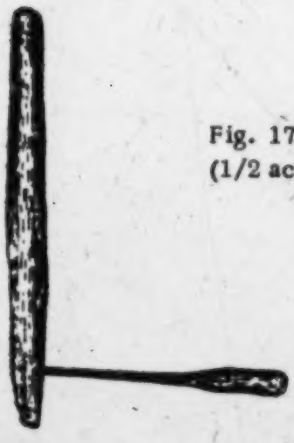

Fig. 177. Instrument for Bleeding, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. L15066.)

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the great commercial centres where there is an important transient foreign population of Africans from the Congo, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans. They are not new in so far as the factors favouring their spread have been in existence for a very long time. I have already mentioned the inadequate clothing of children. Bark-cloth and hides which were not washed, grass and reed huts and enclosures where cattle were living near the dwellings, which were never built in the valleys, were effective deterrents to corporal cleanliness. The Tutsi took hot baths and washed and rubbed themselves with perfumed butter, but the Hutu, particularly the women, did not seem to wash completely very often, if ever.[29]

Defences against these diseases were, as one may expect, very inferior compared with those which Western medical science can now provide. When somebody was ill and the usual remedies known to every old person did not work, he had to have recourse to a herbal expert. I have been told by a missionary who had studied the question for several years that knowledge of these medicinal plants was very often extremely penetrating and that cures, especially in dysentery and other intestinal diseases, were quite often successful. These remedies were collected or administered in a magical context. When that course of action did not produce the expected results, the diviner (*mupfumu*) had to be consulted. He was an interpreter of the will of God (Imana), which he could read in the patterns made by knuckle-bones, in the viscera of chickens, rams, and bulls, or even by a certain intuition without the help of any apparatus. Some diviners used a medium, usually a female possessed by Biheko, an important spirit of the dead, or were possessed themselves. The diviner was asked to identify the malevolent agent sending the illness, which could be either a *muzimu* (spirit of a dead person) or a *muroxi* (sorcerer). If the spirit was identified, the diviner could tell what would appease him, and could offer some counter-magic to deal with a sorcerer.[30]

These resorts to the non-material world probably had the useful function of making bearable a situation in which nothing could otherwise be done to alter the course of the illness. It is doubtful, however, if this method had any other effect on the patient's health.

[29] Cf. Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 118-21. [30] See photographs in Maquet, 1957.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

the honeymoon. The morning after the wedding, it can happen that the young bride will go out into the yard and announce in a loud, clear voice: "I did not come here to go to bed with another girl". She goes home. The boy's father knows that his son is impotent. It is the mother's fault. She must have allowed the dried umbilical cord to fall on the male organ of her newborn son. The cure also is up to her. The parents give their son a great deal of beer so that he will become drunk. The father then leaves the house, and the mother then has intercourse with the son in order to remove the impotence which her neglect caused. If the cure has not failed—and there is great confidence in the probable success of this remedy—the young couple will be reunited and remain together to face the other risks of married life.

When spouses fight, the neighbour-women give advice to the wife and the men to the husband. Both are encouraged to reform. If the wife has become seriously angry, she will leave and stay at her father's for a while. She tells her mother her reasons for having left. If she is wrong, if she has deserved the beating, or if she has refused to do work which a woman is obliged to do, her mother must correct her. Sometimes after two or three days, she returns voluntarily to her husband. However, she much prefers to wait for her husband to come after her and to have to explain his behaviour to her father. If it is the husband who is in the wrong, his mistake will probably cost him a handsome new length of cloth, some money, or some jewellery before his wife will consent to go back to him.

Sometimes the advice of the neighbours and the parents lead at last to marital adjustment. If not, there is a divorce. However, the Rundi say that divorce is no longer reasonable after a man and woman have had two or three children together. Their blood has been mixed. Furthermore, they have had time enough to get to know each other's defects. In addition, to divorce the mother of several children is expensive. The husband takes back the bride-price, but he must pay to have his children. A Tutsi has to give a heifer for each daughter and a bull-calf for each son. The Hutu do not always buy back their children, or else they must wait a long time before they have sufficient hoes or money to redeem them. Occasionally, a man prefers simply to abandon a woman. She and her children remain on the property that the husband has given her, and she must send her sons to stay with their father as soon as they are old enough to work for him. Because he does not take back the brideprice, she cannot remarry. A father may not accept more than one dowry for each daughter. If she wants to remarry,